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636 administrative units, such as, for instance, the West Siberian Territory, 656 the East Siberian Territory and the North Caucasus Territory. The Far Eastern Territory was, however, the last to be affected by these administrative reforms, and then only after the purges there had been completed. On October 20th, 1938, it was decreed that the Far Eastern Territory would cease to exist and that two new 'Territories' would take its place, the Khabarovsk Territory, which still included the bulk of the former F.E.T., and the Maritime Territory, with Vladivostok as the capital. After the war the administrative splitting up of the Soviet Far East was carried further. In the west, the Khabarovsk Territory lost the Amur Province (administrative centre: Blagoveshchensk) and, in the east, Sakhalin was removed from its jurisdiction and made a self-contained province.

●625 433 To consolidate the position of the party in the two new 'Territories', a position so badly shaken by the purges, the government saw it necessary to strengthen the powers of the N.K.V.D., particularly the control which the latter exercised over several vital branches of Soviet Far Eastern economy. The full extent of the N.K.V.D. rule in the Far East was disclosed by the Soviet Economic Plan for 1941, a secret document produced for inter-departmental use, but not intended for the Soviet public and still less for foreigners.* It showed that the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs was a much more important organizer of certain industrial activities than the ministries nominally responsible for them. The plan revealed, for instance, that the N.K.V.D. controlled nearly 83 per cent of the coal output of the Khabarovsk Territory. Only 13 per cent of it was in the hands of the People's Commissariat for Coal (*Narkomugol*) and the remaining 4 per cent was split up between other ministries. In the field of timber production the N.K.V.D. did not hold the same monopoly. It provided 'only' one-third of the entire timber supply of the territory, slightly more than the quota allocated to the People's Commissariat for the Timber Industry (*Narkomles*). Another important sector of N.K.V.D. work was production of building material. Over one-fifth of the bricks produced in the Khabarovsk Territory in 1941 was to come from the Chief Administration of Corrective Labour Camps, one of the specialized agencies of the N.K.V.D. In the much smaller Maritime Territory the N.K.V.D. has little importance as an economic factor, except for the timber industry, where it tackled over 20 per cent of the whole production. But

* The full title of the document is 'Gosudarstvenny Plan Razvitiya Narodnogo Khozyaistva S.S.S.R. na 1941 god (Prilozheniya k Postanovleniyu S.N.K. S.S.S.R. i TsK VKP (b) Nr.' 127 ot 17 Yanvarya 1941 g.) – State Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R. for 1941 (Appendices to the Decree of the Council of People's Commissars and of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), Nr 127 of January 17th, 1941.) The material on the economy of the Soviet Far East is contained in the appendices 371, 372 and 373, pp. 324–336.

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even where the N.K.V.D.-M.V.D. has no direct economic power it is the decisive political force, above all, in border areas like the Maritime Territory of the Soviet Far East.

There are indications, however, that the police ministry has encountered certain difficulties among the Far Eastern Russians during the war and post-war period. Conditions were certainly favourable to a re-emergence of that Far Eastern regionalism which Soviet power has tried so hard to eliminate. The people of Vladivostok, in particular, must have felt once more that the natural destiny of their city was that of a window into the world. They saw the many American lend-lease shipments arriving in their harbour and were bound to draw certain conclusions about the desirability of international trade and Soviet-American co-operation. More than people in other parts of the Soviet Union must the Russian inhabitants of the Pacific coastal areas have resented the policy of rigid isolationism which the Soviet Government has pursued particularly since 1947.

This frame of mind of the 'Far Easterners' makes it understandable that the very existence of an American consulate in Vladivostok was a matter of concern to the Soviet Government. The building of the consulate was put under constant supervision and for long periods it was floodlit at night. In 1948, the Soviet Government used a flimsy pretext to demand from the United States that they should withdraw their consular personnel from the Pacific port. The measure had little importance for the Americans as the activities of the four American consular officials were extremely limited, but it had a certain symbolic significance. The closing down of the consulate was a way of telling the people of Vladivostok that their hopes of their city becoming a link between Russia and the West were once more doomed. Some years later the charge was made that the consulate had been the centre of a spy-ring. This accusation was first put forward in the short story *In a Seaside Town* ('V Primorskom Gorode') which the popular Soviet illustrated *Ogonyok* published in 1950. In the daily press the 'plot' was mentioned for the first time on February 8th, 1953, when *Izvestiya* wrote : 'In 1947, the organs of the state security service liquidated a spy-nest organized by the assistant naval attaché at the American consulate general of Vladivostok, Richard'. *Izvestiya* produced no further details nor any evidence to support its disclosure which it simply quoted from a book *The Secret Weapon of the Doomed*. This latter work had come out under the auspices of the Komsomol organization. The absurdity of the Vladivostok spy story does not preclude the possibility that many Russian Far Easterners in the late 'forties' and early 'fifties' were persecuted for pro-Western sentiments just as others had been victimized for alleged pro-Japanese leanings in the late 'thirties.'

The particular sensitiveness which the Soviet authorities have shown

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inhabitants of over forty-five European Russian gubernii participated in the colonization after the hardships of a long and complicated journey had been alleviated.[14] Migration to the Far East assumed a real mass character, particularly after the Russo-Japanese War, when numbers reached the record height of 76,637 in 1907.

The boom of the migration to the Far East in the last years of the Czarist régime made little difference to the magnitude of the task which the Soviet power had to face. This can be gathered from the fact that in 1926 the total number of inhabitants in the F.E.T. was still below the two million mark, and this included both Asiatics and Europeans. The number of Europeans alone did not exceed 1,600,000, including 1,531,000 representatives of the three main Slavonic peoples of the U.S.S.R. – Great Russians, Ukrainians* and Byelorussians. Thus, the Europeans of the Russian Far East were an insignificant factor compared with the masses of China and Japan living at Russia's doorstep. We shall see now by what means the Soviet Government tried to change the situation and what success it achieved in its endeavours.

COLONIZATION BY CONVICTS

Colonization by convicts is neither a Soviet nor a Russian invention. It has been practised elsewhere, for instance, in Australia, but there it came to an end in 1838. In Russia, more particularly in the Russian Far East, colonization by convicts is not only flourishing at the present time, but it may not even have reached its maximum expansion. Certain remote Soviet Far Eastern territories have absorbed especially high numbers of forced labourers. Consequently, the colonization of the vast area which forms the hinterland of the Okhotsk Sea is almost exclusively due to convicts working under the supervision of the M.V.D. (previously N.K.V.D.).

* According to the 1926 census the Ukrainians in the Far Eastern Territory numbered 315,000 and the Byelorussians 41,000. There are particularly important Ukrainian settlements near the town of Blagoveshchensk, as well as at several points along the railway line running from Khabarovsk to Vladivostok, parallel to the Chinese-Soviet border. The Soviet régime provided Ukrainian language schools for the Ukrainian settlers and founded as many as seventeen Ukrainian 'National Districts' in various parts of the F.E.T.

Ukrainian nationalists refer to the entire Soviet Pacific coastal area as the 'Green Wedge' (Zeleny Klin) as distinct from the 'Grey Wedge', which is the Ukrainian settlers' area in Northern Kirghizistan and Southern Kazakhstan. These nationalists are inclined to consider the Soviet Pacific region a Ukrainian and not a Russian national possession. Indeed, the *Ukrainian Encyclopedia*, published by Ukrainian scholars of Eastern Galicia during the inter-war period, described the 'Green Wedge' as a 'Ukrainian colony on the Pacific Ocean'. The *Encyclopedia* estimated that 30 per cent of the population of the 'Green Wedge' were Ukrainians, against 52 per cent 'Muscovites', i.e., Great Russians. (*Ukrainska Zagalna Entsiklopedia*. Lviv-Stanislaviv-Kolomiya, 1935, vol. ii, pp. 42–3.) The importance of the 'Ukrainian problem' in the Soviet Far East must not, however, be overestimated. The dividing line in the Far East does not run between the various groups of European colonists but between Europeans and Asiatics.

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316 655 (previously N.K.V.D.). Under the general direction of the latter a powerful state enterprise called 'Dalstroy' has come into being in the Soviet Far East. It has taken over many functions that are usually carried out by local government organs. Dalstroy is primarily a mining trust for the development of gold mining on the upper reaches of the Kolyma River. Similar to some mining companies in the colonies of other powers, such as the Société Minière du Haut Katanga in the Belgian Congo, the Dalstroy rules almost as sovereign master over the territory where it exploits the underground riches. Although administrative authorities do exist in the land of the Dalstroy they are completely dependent on the directorate of this enterprise.

655 6.25 The activities of the Dalstroy are many-sided. The 'Mining Administration' ('Gornoe Upravlenie') is only one of several big departments over which the Dalstroy director and his two deputy directors rule. In addition to the 'Political Administration', there is an 'Administration for Agriculture' supervising the work of the local collective farms and state farms, and an 'Administration for Road Building'. There are also a fair number of subsidiary trusts and enterprises which take their orders from the Dalstroy director. There are, for instance, the supply organizations 'Dalstroysnab' and 'Kolymsnab', the coal-mining trust 'Dalugol', a building trust, the state trading firm 'Magadantorg' and a special fleet which connects the Dalstroy with Vladivostok. This entire huge organization is kept together by a small army of M.V.D. men and by a whole network of 'political departments', the activity of which extends to the most distant parts of the Kolyma mining district. The bulk of the workers, technicians and officials of the Dalstroy consists of actual convicts, or of ex-convicts who have been set free because of [461] 'good behaviour'. A list of over 400 Dalstroy officials and workers who were awarded orders and medals at the beginning of 1941 shows that the Dalstroy is a microcosm of the Soviet Union. Indeed, a list of people decorated with the medal 'For Excellency of Labour' starts rather significantly with the following three names:

1. Abdulgasimov, Nazhim, miner;
2. Akopyan, Amayak Avanesovich, newspaper editor;
3. Aksenov, Vladimir Mikhailovich, driver. . . .[15]

Of these three the first is a Moslem, the second an Armenian and the third a Russian. The order is perhaps not very characteristic since the Russian element predominates by far among the more prominent Dalstroy people, but there are also Ukrainians, Georgians, Armenians, Jews and Moslems among them.

167 361 The colonization activities of Dalstroy have changed the character of the hinterland of the Okhotsk Sea, which, until 1931, was still virtually uninhabited. The most palpable achievement has been the foundation of the town of Magadan, the post-war population of which has been

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connection with the forced labour system. A sparsely populated territory on the Kolyma River and around the Okhotsk Sea, which, not so long before, had been the home only of Eveni, Yakuts and other natives, had suddenly become an object of mass colonization by convicts, probably by as many as 400,000. The sudden emergence of huge forced labour camps in tribal territories was bound to have a considerable effect both on the way of life and on the moral outlook of the natives. It is only logical that the N.K.V.D.-M.V.D. should have tried to enlist the support of the natives against camp inmates trying to escape. Former political prisoners have even asserted that the N.K.V.D. pays the natives, either in cash or in the form of vodka, for every escaped person whom they capture.[8] This makes it understandable that the prisoners extend their contempt of the N.K.V.D. to the natives. They charge the authorities with 'coddling and pampering' them in the very areas in which many members of Russia's intelligentsia are gradually being exterminated.[9] It must be said in fairness that the N.K.V.D. is not the first Russian authority to discover that use can be made of Far Eastern natives against convicts from European Russia. The priority for this idea goes to the Czarist governor of Sakhalin Island, General Konotovich. Chekhov, mentioned in his book on Sakhalin that the General had ordered Gilyaks (Nivkhi) to be employed as guards for Russian criminals.

THE REINDEER PROBLEM

Lack of understanding of the 'natives' is manifested not only by the activities of the big State trusts, but also in the day-to-day work of Soviet officials in charge of 'native affairs'. Communist Party officials think in terms of ready-made patterns, and cut-and-dried formulae. They are usually convinced that what is good for Moscow and Vladivostok must be equally good for the most remote parts of the Union. This frame of mind makes it difficult for them to find the right approach to the special conditions of the Far North. Much could be said, for instance, about the peculiar way in which Soviet authorities have handled the basis of Far Northern economy, reindeer-breeding. As late as 1950, the Communist Party of a Siberian province sent large piles of pamphlets on sheep-farming and bee-keeping to the nomads living near the Arctic coast, where there are neither sheep nor bees – only reindeer.[10] This actually happened in North-western Siberia, but it could easily have happened in the Far East. The *Pravda* correspondent in Khabarovsk stated in 1947 that there was not a single specialist in problems of reindeer-breeding in the State and Party offices of that city, although the Khabarovsk Territory includes the largest reindeer population of any administrative unit in the Soviet Union.[11]

115 a survey of the development and buildup of the Magadan-Kolyma area with
121 the intention of serving as an introduction to subsequent reports on current activities in the Kolyma region.

[13] 2) Physical Features of Kolyma: Kolyma is that region in the
63 northeastern part of Siberia, named for the Kolyma River; the boundaries have never been made public, but it is generally considered correct to state that the entire administrative entity is bordered on the north by the Arctic Ocean, on the east by the Sea of Okhotsk, and on the south and west by the impenetrable forests of the taiga. In the early 1930's the territory consisted only of the districts of the gold fields on the upper Kolyma and the highway which was being constructed to connect the gold fields with the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (Magadan-Srednikan-Seimchan Highway). With the passage of time other areas were added to the territory; some claim that at present the entire region encompasses not only the Kolyma area and that part bordering on the Sea of Okhotsk but also the regions along the Yana and Indigirka Rivers in addition to the whole of the Chukotsk region and Kamchatka.

Another estimate of the geographical boundaries of the territory claims that the entire Soviet Far East is under the jurisdiction of Khabarovsk Krai (a "krai" is a political subdivision), which in turn contains the following component parts: The Jewish Autonomous Oblast, Lower Amur Oblast, and Kamchatka Oblast (This last Oblast is claimed to comprise Chukchi and Koryak national okrugs; in addition, there are supposedly two distinct areas of oblast size within the Krai: One centered at Khabarovsk and the other at Magadan in the Kolyma territory, in which the constituent rayons come under the direct jurisdiction of the Khabarovsk Krai administration.

625 Be that as it may, there is ample evidence to support the contention
631 that neither of the two above cited political divisions are technically correct; due to the establishment of Dalstroy (Far Eastern
471 Construction Administration) in 1931-1932, it may be stated with considerable justification that the jurisdiction of Dalstroy extends over all northeast Siberia at the present time, taking in all the land east of the Lena River and north of the River Aldan. If this is the case, the total area is approximately six times that of metropolitan France or some 1,400,000 square miles.

In other words, it is quite clear that the exact geographical boundaries of the region are not known, but it may be at least assumed that Dalstroy, which is an organ of the MVD, has complete control of at least the Kolyma region and most likely the northern areas of Chukchi and Koryak. That the MVD under the name of Dalstroy is in control of large tracts of territory is a proven fact, but the territorial limitations of this organization are not clear.

642 3) Administration: The Constitution of the USSR is not formally
625 operative throughout this vast area[1] (equal to approximately 40% of the United States proper), and the usual authority of regional Soviet agencies does not apply. There are no local Soviets in the territory, nor do elections occur with the exception of those for the Supreme Soviet. However, even in this instance, it is worthy of note that the Kolyma representative in the Soviet of Nationalities is Lieutenant General Nishikov of the MVD, chief of Dalstroy. The widespread area and activities under the Dalstroy administration have resulted in an organization where the economic life of the region is combined with legislative, judicial, administrative, and police functions. In the general structure of governmental authority in the USSR, Dalstroy occupies a unique position; it is beyond all doubt an organ of the MVD, and its official name is "Dalstroy MVD." In the organization of the MVD, Dalstroy comes under the authority of one of the Deputy Ministers.

[1] [i.e., the Kolyma region of Siberia — Analyst]

however, the NKVD appoints the head of Dalstroy, leaving to him the selection of his assistants. Authority is held and exercised solely by Dalstroy, and everybody who represents this authority is appointed by the head of the organization or his assistants acting as his agents. Every inhabited place has a "commandant" who has authority over the territory under his control. Under Dalstroy rules this commandant has the right to inflict the death penalty on all prisoners. 625● 642

A somewhat different status is accorded to the remnants of the native tribes which form so-called "national districts." They enjoy various privileges and are given assistance by the Soviet Government; however, it should be noted that these privileges and assistance can be considered as such only in comparison with the position of the prisoners. These local tribes number only a few thousand, and even in their national districts they have no real authority to govern themselves. [563]

4) Population: The population of the region[1] is not accurately known, primarily due to the continual turnover of prisoners who are imported by the hundreds of thousands yearly and who die at almost the same rate. Before the discovery of gold and the creation of Dalstroy, the local population could hardly have exceeded 25,000 to 30,000; according to the census of 1926-1927 the population of the Kolyma region was 7,580. It is very unlikely that the number of aborigines has materially increased under the rule of Dalstroy; in fact, during the first period of the Revolution the native population showed a marked tendency to decrease. 161

However, the total population of the Kolyma region during the Dalstroy administration has grown fantastically, and the only explanation is the importation of prisoner labor. The exact number of prisoners cannot be determined for obvious reasons; however, according to a report by a Soviet seaman who formerly served on ships running between Vladivostok and Magadan the entire Kolyma region is 505 466

> "a single concentration camp. Into it have been thrown huge masses of the repressed. How many of them he cannot say exactly.... In his opinion it may be calculated with considerable accuracy that during the years 1937 to 1940 not less than a million and a half persons were brought on steamers from Vladivostok to Magadan; during each navigation season from April to November four Dalstroy steamers (Felix Dzherzhinskiy, Dalstroy, Soviatsia, and Dzhurma) were in operation, each making from 12 to 15 voyages in the course of the summer and bringing from 6,000 to 9,000 persons on each voyage."[1]

(Note: Radio Magadan in a report on 24 October 1955 stated that "Nagayevo port vessels -[Nagayevo is the port servicing Magadan]- have fulfilled their annual cargo delivery plan 105.8%...the seagoing vessels of the Nagayevo maritime port overfulfilled their 8 month cargo delivery plan but failed to fulfill their 9 month plan. The leading place among seagoing vessels is being held by the steamship 'Felix Dzherzhinskiy.' Good results were also achieved by the steamship 'Dzhurma' which is on its way from Nakhodka to the Kresta Bay carrying vegetables, foodstuffs, manufactured goods, fruits, construction and technical materials, and equipment." The interesting feature of this report is the fact that the steamships "Felix Dzherzhinskiy" and "Dzhurma" which were definitely known to be transporting laborers in 1940 are still plying the same route and very likely are carrying the same "freight" because the hulls of these two ships are known to be constructed to carry prisoners, not freight as stated.)

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1 Dallin, David J., Forced Labor in Soviet Russia (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1947), pp. 136-137 ½ [i.e., Kolyma – АЛИХ]

Magadan to Srednikan, and then on to Seimchan. The distance by air was some 200 miles and it was planned to open this road by 1934. The project was begun in the autumn of 1932, but winter set in early, and reliable accounts have claimed that

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> "Blinding snowstorms raged for weeks on end. At times, even in Magadan, walking from one house to another was almost impossible. On several occasions communication with the taiga was completely cut off, and no food could be sent to the inland camps. Since the supplies the prisoners could take with them on leaving Magadan were extremely small, famine would set in.... In addition, in the absence of barracks men had to live in tents or, more often, in brushwood huts, with the temperature at -60. In spite of the insufferable cold, the prisoners went on with their work. Even under normal taiga conditions prisoners died by the hundreds and thousands, and nearly everybody had frostbitten hands and feet. What went on in some of the winter camps must have remained a mystery to the authorities, since in some no living beings were left—neither prisoners nor guards, or even dogs. One of the valleys of the region, the Shaivinski, has since been called 'the Valley of Death.' ...a party of prisoners numbering several thousand, together with the entire convoy of guards, lost their way in the blizzard and died to a man. It used to be said in Magadan that of all those who were 'thrown' into the taiga in the first heroic year of Dalstroy, only one out of 50 to 100 came back."[6]

The Magadan-Seimchan highway proved to require more than the planned two years, and the work was not completed until 1937. In return for this accomplishment, Dalstroy and Berzin were expecting to receive generous rewards. However, upon his arrival in Moscow Berzin was caught in the vast purges of that year and was executed, having been charged with "having ties with capitalist countries, of selling gold to foreign countries, of surrounding himself with confessed or secret 'Trotskyites' as well as other oppositionists, and of planning a coup d'etat in the region and seizing all power so that he could secede from the USSR and join the United States or perhaps Japan."[7]

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b. Violence under Garanin (1937-1938): The years 1937 and 1938 resulted in the purges of countless "oppositionists," and Magadan had a large turnover in personnel; many of the NKVD personnel were purged, and a new administration was ushered in with the appointment of Garanin to lead Dalstroy.

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At this stage the population of Kolyma increased tremendously; about 100,000 prisoners were brought in annually. Most of these new prisoners were "counterrevolutionary elements"—people who had not done physical labor previously, such as scientists, artists, politicians, educators, leaders of industry, trade, among others. In 1938 the purge struck the prisoners in Kolyma when "Garanin undertook to liquidate thousands of intellectuals. Henceforth there was no more fur clothing for the prisoners. The standard equipment became wadded jackets and trousers which soon hung like torn rags.... The felt boots were replaced by shoes made of canvas.... The wretched rations of the prisoners were deficient in fats; the major component was bread."[8] However, the quantity of bread allotted to each prisoner was determined by the amount of work

6 Ibid., p. 125.
7 Ibid., p. 131.
8 Lipper, Elinor, Eleven Years in Soviet Prison Camps (Chicago, Henry Regnery, 1951), p. 106.

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he did in accordance with the norm: since norms were set very high even for healthy peasants from the farms, intellectuals invariably failed to meet their quotas. Garanin frequently made trips throughout the various camps, seeking those who had not fulfilled their quotas--these were then shot. "This was still not enough. At night he would have thousands of enemies of the people taken out of all the Kolyma camps...and driven off to prison. This prison called Serpantinka is about 375 miles west of Magadan, in the midst of the forest, and it is probably one of the most ghastly institutions in the Soviet Union.... It was estimated that Garanin had the deaths of some 26,000 persons on his conscience.... He was finally recalled (1938)."[9]

c. Blundering of Vyshnyevetsky (1938-1941): After the arrival of Vyshnyevetsky "no change was made in the treatment, clothing, or food of the prisoners. But the summary trials and shootings of prisoners without trial ceased. The mortality among the miners remained at a constant 30%."[10] The cause of the downfall of the new head of Dalstroy was the expedition to Pyostraya Dresva Bay. In the spring of 1940 a ship was sent to that area with several thousand prisoners and some 800 free citizens on board to exploit the precious metals found to exist in that area. Inasmuch as the ship left so late, Vyshnyevetsky was warned of a possible disaster when the ice jams formed. Prisoners were shipped wearing only summer clothing and with thin shoes. At the destination prisoners began work on the construction of camps in which they were to be imprisoned. However, a hurricane destroyed all the efforts at the construction sites, and the following spring the remnants of the expedition returned to Magadan: 200 free men and 150 prisoners. Not one of the men who returned did not suffer from frostbite, and eyewitnesses in the hospital at that time claim that the survivors, to the last man, were either amputees or insane. For this enterprise Vyshnyevetsky was recalled to Moscow where he was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment; his arrest was due to the fact that 600 free men had perished in the futile effort, but no reference was ever made to the thousands of prisoners who also perished.

d. The Regime of Nishikov (1941-present?): The new chief of Dalstroy was Lieutenant General Ivan F. Nishikov, who according to the latest reports still is in command; whether the execution of his superior, Beria, affected his status is not known. According to Elinor Lipper in her book "Eleven Years in Soviet Prison Camps," the authoress, who was imprisoned in various Kolyma prison camps from 1938 to 1946, states that:

> "he is icily, mercilessly cruel. By cruelty he pushed through the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the gold plan; by cruelty he won decorations and large money bonuses. In 1942 at the age of fifty, he divorced his first wife.... He placed her and her grown son, who was a state's attorney in Magadan, aboard a ship headed for Vladivostok, and married a young communist girl of 29 named Gridassova, a primitive, crude, avaricious creature, who is only too well known to myself and to other female prisoners, for she functioned as the harsh commander of the Magadan women's camp. Thanks to her husband's position she has risen in the military hierarchy and has been decorated. She is the head of Maglag, the camp district of Magadan and the surrounding region, and rules the lives of tens of thousand of prisoners.
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> The couple's country house is located on the highway forty-five miles northwest of Magadan. It is furnished and equipped in the greatest comfort and is surrounded

9 Ibid., pp. 106-107.
10 Ibid., p. 108.

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by Nishikov's private hunting preserve. Near by, the prisoners of the invalid camp called 'Seventy-second Kilometer' work in a glass factory which is under the special protection of Gridassova and consequently always registers a marvelous production record. During the War burnt-out electric bulbs were repaired there, since new bulbs were almost unobtainable and even tiny bulbs were sold at a hundred and fifty rubles."[11]

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7) The Kolyma Buildup (1932-1946): As has been indicated earlier, Magadan and the entire Kolyma area were almost uninhabited in 1932 when the expedition under Berzin reached Nagayevo port; however, although at a fantastic cost in human lives, remarkable development of the Kolyma area was made. As early as 1946 it was clearly known that Dalstroy's extensive and many-sided activities were coordinated in a system of administrative organizations, each of which deals with a specific section of the region's economy—the centers of all these organizations are located in Magadan. At that time the following were known to exist: administrations of supplies, fish industry, coal, wood manufacturing industry, road building, agriculture, motor transport, and a few others. Essentially these administrations have the same task—they must insure uninterrupted operation and success in the chief industry of the region—gold mining, and with this ultimate goal in mind, they must supply all necessary materials and products. The ideal situation, as desired by Dalstroy and no doubt by Moscow as well, seems to be for Magadan to be completely self-sufficient and to turn over to the state all gold mined. As far as the fishing industry is concerned, it is known that fish is exported from Kolyma to Vladivostok. Attempts have been made to extract oil locally to supply motor transport in the region; however, there has been little success in this project although the presence of oil deposits in the area has been definitely established.

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Road construction was one of the primary tasks upon the initial efforts in Kolyma; just before World War II, another spurt in road building occurred. In 1939 the administration of road building was split into two independent organizations, one for the south and one for the north. By that time, the trunk highway from Magadan to Seimchan was being extended in the direction of the newer gold fields on the upper Indigirka River, and a number of side roads were also constructed to connect the main gold fields on the upper Kolyma River with the highway. Altogether, according to the best estimates, there were approximately 901 kilometers of paved roads in actual use at that time. However, this was inadequate, and in 1939-1940 a new plan of extensive road building was drawn up covering the construction of new roads in the extreme north, at the Kolyma estuary, and in the south, on the upper Kolyma, in the so-called "old" gold mining districts. In addition to new tributary roads, work was started in 1939 on the construction of a second motor highway from Dresva Bay on the Sea of Okhotsk to the gold-mining territory on the upper Kolyma. Even far more reaching were the plans for road construction east of the Kolyma estuary, in the tundra of the Arctic coastal region, down to the Bering Strait, where geological exploration had discovered gold fields of exception richness, perhaps exceeding those of the upper Kolyma. There have been no exact data concerning these plans; understandably, the information coming from the deep interior of the Kolyma region is generally far more scant than that coming from Magadan. However, at the beginning of the Russo-German War in 1941, all these plans for road construction were curtailed for obvious reasons. As has been indicated earlier, practically all construction activities were halted and many short-term prisoners were even sent back to European Russia where they served actively in the defense of the Soviet Union. In connection with the construction of roads just prior to the German

11 Ibid., pp. 110-111.